2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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in the three houses for nearly all members of the two extended families, for the factory has become the major gathering point for all of them during the summer. Each married couple maintains its own home in the city. In the Conde and Jacuipe families the tendency has been to enlarge the two families by the addition of in-laws rather than to lose sons and daughters, because of the exceptionally strong family loyalties held by the members. As a result, many more people are drawn into the social circles of the two groups, which at times appear as one family and at other times as two separate but close units.

The social life of these people is carried out almost entirely within this group of ninety-seven persons, and their in-laws, plus the in-law families. Such intrafamilial social life is known as vida em familia. During the winter season in Salvador, their social activities are confined to visiting one another, playing cards with one another, having birthday parties for one another, attending the weddings of one another's children, and so forth. Trips to the beach and to social clubs and graduations are made jointly. During the summer, parts of families visit others, and at certain times, such as the botada da usina (first day of the sugar mill's activities each year), Carnaval, and the birthday of the Colonel, his wife, or Dona Yaya, nearly all the members of the family get together. This may mean a gathering of sixty to seventy persons. A "small" luncheon may be attended by a mere twenty or thirty persons.

It is still the custom for young married couples to dine with the parents of each at least once a week. It is also not unusual to find an entire apartment house in the city occupied by members of one family, each conjugal group occupying its own apartment. Members of the same generation usually play or visit together, although all generations are present at most family gatherings. Through lifelong companionship, members of families in this class come to know each other extremely well and are often the best of friends as well as relatives. Because of the size of these families, and because of the constancy of their devotion to one another, there is little time or energy left for entertaining outsiders. This, however, does not mean that acquaintances are limited to family members. Friends are made, who are drawn into the various conjugal groups and into the activities of the larger extended family.

Courtship in Class A families is a formal affair. At first it is considered that the young couple are gostando (liking each other) or namorando (in love). It is expected that the boy

* 565
596 will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be
• 584 invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

585 The wedding, always in Salvador, is both a religious and a
*565 civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church
596 ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the religious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives
[591] attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as
* much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suit-
565 able position. Family connections are extremely important
594 throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

163 As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of
[608] the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents)
[596] are chosen from close members of the two families, at least for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends
[553] of the father as godparents. Children are named after family
[178] members of preceding generations or--as has happened in some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

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[Class C Families]

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369 the fathers, who insisted that the children go. In the case of a woman who moves in with a new husband and brings her own children, she always makes it clear that the children are hers and not his. She will allow no interference from her husband in the matter of disciplining her children. Often the best possible relations exist between stepfather and children, but he never gives orders to them. The rural mother in all cases seems to be more exacting with her offspring than the town
[861] mother. It is not uncommon for a rural mother to beat her children, even those who are grown men, with the cipó de caboclo (a switch), whereas this would never happen in the town. She also extends her control over them even after they are married, counseling them and helping when she can, and criticizing them severely if she does not like something they do.

883 By the time they are in their late teens, boys become in-
• 584 terested in courting (namoro), though girls often start earlier. If a boy sees a girl who interests him, he manages to
212 meet her as often as possible on the street or at the dock, and
832 by looks and slight remarks makes it clear that he is interest-
[206] ed. Or, if he can write, he may send the girl a note through a common friend. In Vila Recôncavo the telephone office is a popular place for making one's interests known, for the telephone operator is a young woman who is highly respected by most people in town and well liked by young people. A note typical of those which may pass through her hands is as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 7, 1951

Dona Therezinha, Salutations:

I am absolutely convinced that you do not doubt the sincerity of my love, which is always manifested so clearly in my letters and in my face when I see you.

So, I equally have the conviction of having the strange happiness of possessing your love, but in the meantime there is something lacking to complete my felicity. That is to speak to you, to hear from your lips the sincere confession of your love, to feel you near me for a few minutes.

I ask you to give me permission to speak to you, indicating the day, hour, and place in which we can meet.

You will surely not repent giving me this pleasure, for you will see that I know how to retribute your confidence

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with respect and honesty. Anxiously awaiting your answer, I am your sincere admirer.

Excuse the mistakes. End.

Themistocles Filho

In this case it was the girl's first experience with this sort of thing, so she asked an older friend to write the answer for her. It took over a week before the answer was ready and was given to the boy. During this time the girls who know about the affair discussed the possibilities: the boy's looks, his note, his friends, and so on, until nothing was left uncovered. Generally the details of such an affair are shared by the girl with her female friends. The answer, when ready, ran as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 10, 1951

Dear Citizen:

Initially I send my wishes for happiness so that they may become part of all that is stored in your imagination, loyal and sincere friend.

And now I want to acknowledge receipt of your letter, which in its first moment was the source of indescribable joy in my heart. Afterwards, in the surprised reality of all young girls, I asked myself about the content of all that which you wrote to me so nicely. And, although bewildered by the disillusions of many of my girl friends, I think that my authorized answer may be a meeting between the two of us, so that we may know each other better, and if we understand each other well our destinies will belong to God.

And thus I present myself.

Therezinha

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This affair went on for several more letters before the girl made a definite date. In the meantime the two passed each other in the street, in the movies, and on the dock without speaking. In the end the girl, who was only fourteen, lost her nerve, and the affair ended before any meeting took place. When such a correspondence culminates in an actual meeting, the meetings are facilitated or made difficult by the degree of vigilance exercised by the girl's parents. Often such an affair is hidden from them completely, only the girl's best friends having any

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper [843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin 574 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. 252 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all 262 food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and [476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the [273] farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarajé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the 535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people 736 in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

[SALVADOR]

175 178 *563 555 These marriages increased after /40 cont./ Independence, in 1822, with the social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, op. cit., III, p. 951.

178 *563 626 584 593 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have decreased with time, and so the latter became more numerous every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 557 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" moreno suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.